1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	... ...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	... ...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	... ...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal	... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	... ...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only	...	Rs. 2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na*; the common wool, *Bal*; and the hair, *sPu*. The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal*, or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal*, are the same as the Latin *lana*, and the English *wool*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it. 788

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (compare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 792 463 465 563

463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
● 465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
363 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

197 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti. 565 595

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothis* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensis 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensis are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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651 Village Communities and Tenures.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothís* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

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There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *chákzi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *chákzi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *chákzi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
• 465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
[201] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

Horses, Mules, Yaks, and Moti

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks. They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules, put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves, and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for *gur gur cha* but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

[1] [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 595 184 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and [465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land 291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves, 515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night, 735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages 565 need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

536 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
● 465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[423] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of